[866 cont.]

782 [792] The place for the black fire-pouring is usually a remote ravine. One pitches black tents and lives there several days with the lama in solitude. In no case may one undertake the black fire-pouring in the vicinity of temples or human habitations.

[731] 755 777 [776] In case of epidemics, the black fire-pouring is used preferably, in order to annoy the demons of sickness and thus to drive them away, for with them the misfortune, too, disappears.

[792] [755] Meaning: The fire-pouring is an offering for the gods; through it they are supposed to be induced to turn away misfortune and sickness (7). The seven-day prayer of the lama is

782 372 [776]

7. [Foreign text pp. 868-869.] The whole gives very much the impression of a fire-offering. The informant, however, thought that it had nothing to do with it. According to him it was an offering to the appropriate Buddhas. The fire-god was also venerated with it, as the torma proved, but this was not the main thing. Nevertheless there is no doubt but that a fire-offering, Homa, is involved (cf. Lessing, loc. cit.). The Tujen name alone cannot be interpreted other than as a corruption of the Tibetan sbyin-sreg. sbyin is pronounced jin, which is very clearly to be seen in Note 8 (źūin-tsēġ). Ch. Das, p. 940, writes under sbyin-sreg: "burnt offerings as made by Tantrik Buddhists, ... sbyin-sreg-gi [869] rdsas clarified butter, articles necessary for burnt sacrifices. ... sbyin-sreg-gi yam-šiṅ ... first wood necessary for the offering" [cited in English]. (For yam-šiṅ, cf. the Tujen foreign word yiew-siṅ.) "Homa is the

[204 cont.]

776 of the Bon, the Däntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance among the people that might be expected. They know of [796] Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth [535] day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha, [791] and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call [788] sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full [756] warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people. Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called [753] ilie. They harm human be[illegible] through disease, misfortune, [777] failure of crops, and bad wea[illegible]er. Especially feared is [205] the [731] plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom [782] the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are combated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the Däntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

774 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

IX. PUBLIC RITES

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN REGARD TO HAILSTORMS

In the mind of the Monguors is seared the belief in an incredibly prodigious medley of gods, malignant spirits, and ferocious ghosts, and consequently all events in life, happy or unhappy, must be approached from that angle. 732 731

In this chapter will be considered the calamity most dreaded by the Monguors, which does the most harm and ruins them most frequently. It is the scourge of hailstorms, which every year ruin the crops of many villages, reducing the already narrow margin of subsistence of the villagers to a minimum, and bringing many families to the verge of famine. [132]

It is obvious that this calamity is supposedly caused by malignant spirits and it is no wonder that the whole religious energy of the people is bent on securing all available means and ways to avoid disaster. No wonder that the people, scared to death, seek refuge in religion against a scourge caused by evil spirits—first of all in the religion credited with the greatest potency, without refusing the help of others less potent, imploring the aid of good spirits, and engaging in a life and death struggle with the evil spirits. 821 829

In all their village temples, accordingly, one encounters the picture of the god of the Five Roads, the Taoist combatant of hailstorms, amidst the awful scenery, previously described, whether or not the temple is dedicated to it. The shaman is invited to perform his most efficient rites against hail because he is believed the most conspicuous for his great abilities in the field. All the Taoist spirits, to whom temples in the country are dedicated, are invited by the shaman to come down into the temple yard and to participate in the performance of the rite in spring. The shaman conveys to them the sympathy of the villagers and their gracious offer of hospitality, in order that they might help their village, and after the shamanist rites have been performed the villagers still indulge in Lamaist activities against hailstorms. 782 796 789

No wonder that, from New Year's on, the villagers are obsessed by the problem, and never fail where a Kurtain is possessed by the god of the Five Roads, to invite him on the third day of the year for an exhibition

---

the study of F. Franz Eichinger, Kinderlosigkeit und ihre Bekampfung in der Volksmedizin, *ibid.* 167 sq., is very instructive and unique. The author, during two years as member of the Chinese Health Committee in Ming-hsien, Lin t'ao, Ho-chou, and Labrang (East Kansu), traveled four months with the committee in the region of Hsining, Kung-ho, Hsing-hai (Monguor territory) and seized the exceptional opportunity to gather ethnological notes, which open vistas in this special field and give a better understanding of the frame of mind of the family concerning this capital topic: the care of children, the means of getting this blessing, the fear of being bereaved of them and the physical causes of this bereavement. [113]

[p.97(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the chief of the village asks him or her whether "Heaven and all the spirits" will really preserve the crops.

At times of epidemics, epizootics, and big calamities, the same rite is performed. However, at that time the rite is performed on the sacred mountain of the village. This rite, in which elements of Lamaism and shamanism are intermixed with profusion, performed on a high mountain under the dome of heaven by the chief of the village without representatives of any religion, seems to recall the times when the chiefs of the families and of the tribes were the priests of the religion.

CALL OF THE GODDESSES ON THE GOD ERH-LANG

An unusual practice, peculiar to the thirteen villages situated in the Sha-t'ang Valley, which have a goddess in the sedan chair, is to be recorded. The inhabitants of the thirteen villages are Monguors who had left their T'u-ssu and had become subjects of Erh-ku-lung before 1723, and then became Chinese subjects after the revolt and renounced their identity to the extent of speaking only the Chinese language, although they know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors. However, their wives, who have abhorred dressing in the Monguor fashion, are even today upon death laid out in the coffin dressed in the famous Monguor skirt, because, they say: "How would it be possible to meet the ancestors after death, without wearing the Monguor skirt!" [9]

On the fifth of the fourth moon, a group of thirty strong young folk of each village goes to the Hsiao nan ch'uan (little south spring) carrying the goddess of their temple (Niang-Niang) sitting in the sedan chair, wearing her beautiful mantle, earrings and bracelets, in order to have her greet the god Erh-lang in his temple and spend a night with him. The tradition requires that the thirty youngsters observe strict continence for twenty-one days before the trip, and restrain themselves from indulging in drinking wine and eating garlic, leeks, and onions. According to the old Monguor custom, they plait into their pigtails a tassel of green cotton cords and wrap their heads with red cloth, in order to be insulated against all kinds of noxious influences of evil spirits. Each of them carries a strong club, the upper part of which is wrapped in red cloth for the same reason. The irregularity of this unusual practice is due to the fact that while today genuine Monguors do not observe this tradition, these groups of renegade Monguors are eager to stick to it, asserting that it is a genuine old Monguor custom. The Chinese in the country, however, do not practice the custom.[10]

---

[9] I never could get the explanation for the unusual fact that these thirteen villages had become the proprietors of their own fields, or the reason for which Erh-ku-lung had sold them to them, liberating them from all obligations to the monastery.

[10] The Chinese practice a similar rite. In order to obtain rain during the time of persistent droughts, they make a pilgrimage, barefooted, with willow twigs twisted around their heads, to caves dedicated to the goddess Kuan Yin, where there is a

[A102(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

hail.) A grim, ghastly mask and a piece of red cloth are fixed on the head of the stake. A small Chinese table, covered with strips of red cloth to which is attached a copper mirror, is considered to be a spirit in the same way.

782 789 796

FIGHTING THE HAILSTORMS

When the hailstorm appears threatening and the evil spirits are about to loose their avenging bolts, the youngsters on the top of the hill wave banners, beat drums and cymbals, blow the horn, brandish aggressively the sedan chair with the god sitting inside, and the stake gods, in the direction of the storm, howl, curse the evil spirits by means of the most obscene vocabulary, and take obscene attitudes in order to frighten them. I saw such a scene in the village of T'ao chia chai, a Chinese village of which some people were Christians, and was told that the Monguors act in just the same way.

731 789

If the storm is avoided, incense is burned, prostrations are made, and the group comes back, proud and high spirited because their performance achieved victory. But if the storm breaks with lightning, lighting up the whole valley, and thunder rumbling terrifyingly, pouring down torrents of water and rattling hail, the whole group starts fleeing in confusion, with the sedan chair and all the gods, straight down the hill, through the fields and the rivers to the temple. It is said that when this happens the youngsters lose control over the gods they are carrying; that the gods, defeated by mightier ones, unable to withstand the struggle, abandon the battlefield and themselves flee, irresistibly pulling with them their carriers, without caring for roads, precipices, or rivers. The terror throws the village into confusion and consternation. The gods could not stand against the terrible evil spirits of the hail; hopes are frustrated and the crops destroyed. The prospect of bad times, with privations and sufferings, haunts every family.

SHAMANS AND STATUES OF THE TEMPLES

The statues in temples are assumed by the Monguors to be the seat of the spirits. Several facts have already been recorded, in keeping with that assumption. Statues decide about the invitation of the shaman for the performance of the new rites against hail. They pull their carriers irresistibly over fields and precipices, or make themselves so heavy as to become immovable and crush the carriers under their weight. According to the Monguors, the unusual power residing in the statue is due to special rites performed by the shamans.

778 532 756

In the stomach of every statue is a square opening capable of being closed and opened. Every time a new statue is made, the shaman is invited to animate it by means of dancing, beating drums, and inserting in the hole a live snake, a live raven, a live frog, and the intestines of a sheep and a pig. All these items have to

[P. 104(A)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

OM MANI DAYS AND BUMKHANG

It has been noted that in many villages an additional temple besides the community temple, had been built and dedicated by zealous villagers to a Buddhist deity. Every year, in summertime, some lamas, very often of the Red Sect, are invited to perform the rite of the Om Mani. Butter, flour of roasted spelt, and tea are collected among the villagers. The lamas prepare the *tormas*, the cups with water, spices and flowers, the 108 lamps, recite texts, beat drums, ring bells. After the texts are recited the villagers start to make the thousand circumambulations around the temple, saying "Om Mani," spinning the prayer wheels, and moving from east to west in the ritual way. Old and young are keenly interested in the practice and all help to perform the thousand turns. Three lamas sit on a woolen carpet outside the temple, noting the number of turns performed by each villager who comes to have his merits noted. It is a busy day for the lama accountants. It is an interesting rite, performed in high spirits by the whole community. Youngsters run around the temple, competing in speed, praying "Om Mani" while old people walk, absorbed in devotion.

Another quite different Om Mani rite is enacted six times a year by older people, mostly women, members of an Om Mani society, which has a small fund for securing tea and rolls for the devotees. It consists of circumambulations around a Bumkhang, and the turning of prayer wheels, but in a west to east direction. The number of circumambulations is not fixed. All day long the moving devotees go on continuously. At least one lady has to be on the way at all times saying "Om Mani." At the time of calamities the whole population performs the rite.

Bumkhang means "home of the 100,000." Outside of many villages is built a small Lamaist construction at the time calamities afflict the village: epidemics, epizootics, diseases, drought, too much rain. According to the Monguor tradition these mischievous plottings of evil spirits have to be neutralized by magical means by lamas of the Red Sect. They are reputed to be more skilled than lamas of the Yellow Sect in indicating, by means of the deity whom they personally honor and invite to descend into their staff, the way along which these evils are approaching the village, and by what magical means the way can be blocked. Because the rite is thoroughly magical, the circumambulation is made from west to east, and the prayer wheels are turned in the same direction, the opposite way from that prescribed by the Yellow Sect.

Museum of Oriental Ethnology, *Folklore Studies*, Supplement No. 1. Ethnographische Beitrage aus der Ch'inghai Provinz (China) 222 sq., 1952; also Der Hundekopfdämon im Volksglauben des Westtales under des Chinesichs Tibetischen Kontakgebietes im Osttales von Kuei-te in der Provinz Ch'inghai, 143, where the same belief is noted concerning the cat and the dog among the Tibetans of Penpa, neighbors of the Monguors. See also Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, Fuchs I, 40.

[p.132(A)]

Such constructions are never built inside the villages or monasteries, but outside of them, maybe along a road, or on a small elevation, but always close to the village and on the spot indicated by the Red lama. In 1917 the young T'u Kuan Hutukhtu, advised by old devout lamas, decided to build such a temple along the main way leading to his monastery. At that time one lawsuit was succeeding another and calamities desolated his lamasery. He ordered each of his lamas to mold with red clay a fixed number of small flat rectangular Buddha images, called *Tsa-tsa*. They worked for weeks, for 100,000 images were needed. In the meantime mud bricks were prepared and carpenters invited for the building of the frame of a rectangular temple, having no doors but only a square hole on each side for the windows. At the same time five Red lamas, qualified for the job, were invited to build the home of the 100,000 Tsa-tsa according to the liturgical rules. To explain the shamanist rites against hail, the most incoherent and unimaginable items required by the shamans have been recorded, and the way the pit was dug and the items buried in it. The Red lamas required the intendant of the T'u kuan to prepare the same items (except for the corpse of a child, the living snake, rooster and dog), but all the things had to be stolen in order to be effective, and all were marked with cabalistic designs. Because the Red lamas do not use a corpse, a living snake, rooster, or dog, it has been said that their rite is not as effective against hail as that of the shamans.

On the auspicious night, the Red lamas, dressed in their red clothes and barefooted, with a piece of red cloth around their heads, descended into the pit to bury the items, in the same way that the shamans bury items at the time they build the mound against hail, and in the same kind of pit, communicating by signs. Meanwhile, all the lamas of the monastery circumambulated the pit from west to east, flying banners, beating drums, blowing shells, throwing stones, howling and cursing in the direction of the supposed fiend, and a big cypress fire was kept burning the whole night. Finally, after the pit had been filled flush with the ground, a stake was thrust into it on which cabalistic characters had been written with red earth and encircled with the blood of a white dove. What spirit the stake represented, which would block the influxes, was not told, but it was said that it was not the White Tiger. At dawn the carpenters erected upon the pit the consecrated frame of the building, and lamas started using mud bricks to build a wall inside the frame four or five feet high, the stake being in the middle of the building. Then a big Wei-sang was kindled, pounded cones and leaves of cypress were spread on the ground, and the lamas paved the floor with the clay images, one next to the other. Then followed a new layer of pounded cypress and a new layer of images, and so on, until the 100,000 images were disposed in layers inside the building.

[p. 182 (B)]

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

When the building of the walls was finished, the images having been smoked beforehand, and blessed with ritual water, and having had rice thrown upon them, were stored inside. Finally a roof covered the construction and a verandah with some prayer wheels was built around it, with an oven in front for Wei-sang. Each lama received from the Hutukhtu, as remuneration for the molding of images, a piece of cloth large enough to make a new lama costume. 731 782

When, at the time of epidemics, the Om Manis and circumambulations have seemed ineffective, the people conclude that the Bumkhang has lost its energy, and a new rite is enacted in order to strengthen its impaired capacities. The Red lamas are again invited. They read texts for seven days, and thrust a new stake in the ground before the Bumkhang, at night, while the people howl. They act exactly in the same way as the shamans who strengthen debilitated hail mounds. Because this act is not seldom performed for old Bumkhangs of villages, it seems to suggest that all the Bumkhangs in the country were built on the same pattern. This was the only Bumkhang built during my stay in the country, but old Monguors told me that all the Bumkhangs were constructed in the same way, not in order to be endowed with blessings, but in order to avert calamities plotted by evil spirits, and to block the way along which the bad influxes enter the village. The facts (1) of circumambulating in a counter-clockwise direction, (2) the way of building the Bumkhang, (3) the use of the heterogeneous items, (4) the thrusting of the stake god into it, and (5) the manner of strengthening the impaired magical power of the Bumkhang all over the country, seem to support the assumption that the Bumkhang built at Erh-ku-lung by order of the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, a lama of the Yellow Sect, and all the other Bumkhangs follow thoroughly magical rites belonging to the same category as the rites performed on the hail mounds built by the shamans. 731 782 789

It is noteworthy that no urns are buried inside the Bumkhang and that no pole is set up inside of it, to represent the "pillar of Heaven." A couple of beams support the roof of the small building, but the magical stake god is thrust into the center of the building amidst the 100,000 clay Buddha figures.

This description does not tally with the interesting study of Dom. Schröder (p. 266). It is recorded according to my notes written at the time when the Bumkhang of Erh-ku-lung was built, and investigations were made concerning these buildings existing in the country. [114]

FASTING RITES AMONG THE MONGUORS

Fasting is practiced in the country situated north of the Hsining River by lamas of the Yellow and the Red Sects and by laymen; shamans are not interested in fasting exercises. At Erh-ku-lung the rite is compulsory for all lamas. It starts on the twenty-ninth 785 792

5:Schram M-5 (1911-1922)1961 AE9 Monguor AE9

mand of T'u-ssu Ch'i Pei-chai (*Annals* of Hsining 28: 3; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). The Monguors, familiar with the customs of the country, prepared fifty or more rafts of sheep and ox skins, and crossed the river at night in the locality of Chang Chia Wan. In the morning they unexpectedly met a large group of rebels in Hsin Ch'eng and administered a crushing defeat to them. They arrived at Lanchow which was unprepared to meet the enemy, and the city was recovered (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*a–b*). T'u-ssu Ch'i was appointed defender of the city (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 46*b*). Then the Hsining troops of Wang Chin-pao and the Monguor troops helped recover, one after another, all the cities of East Kansu, with other Manchu troops. T'u-ssu Li commanded 1,000 of his Monguor troops (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 47*b*), and T'u-ssu Kan and Ah 300 (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 50, 51). Then the t'u-ssu participated in the seige and the recovering of the city of P'ing Liang, and the capture of the rebel governor Wang Fu-ch'eng. The Lu t'u-ssu sent 400 *tan* of wheat to the hungry Monguor soldiers beseiging P'ing Liang, which was recovered in 1678. Wu San-kuei died August 17, 1678. After a campaign of six years the t'u-ssu returned to Huangchung with their troops.

In 1677 groups of Tibetans, in combination with Uighurs, had attacked Salar villages. Probably during the insurrection of Wu San-kuei, Salar brigands had plundered them. The Manchu army had put them to flight (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 50*a–b*). In 1681 they returned to avenge the previously unsuccessful attack. Under the leadership of the Tibetan Huang La T'aichi they attacked the village of Su Chih and killed many Salars. The Manchu commander at night attacked the camp of the aggressors and killed many of them. They fled toward the Lao Ya pass and occupied it, blocking the communications. Troops had to come from Liangchow to repel and pursue them (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 51).

In 1689 a tremendous famine desolated East Kansu. It was followed by revolts of hungry people. In 1691 the revolt, led by a Taoist priest, had spread over the entire country. Troops of all the commanderies of Kansu were summoned, the revolt lasted until 1693 (*Annals* of Kansu 56: 45*b*). The Monguor t'u-ssu did not move into East Kansu. They had to protect their own country against inroads of poor and destitute people and forestall uprisings of the army in Huangchung, which was lacking food and was restless, for the crops in Huangchung had been bad also. In 1702, 50,000 *tan* of rice were sent from Sian to Huangchung for the troops (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 21*b*).

In 1693 T'u-ssu Li Hsia, assistant commander in Hsining, informed the emperor concerning the situation in the Pe-ta region, in the northern valley of Hsining. In 1647, after the rebel Mohammedans and Chinese of Kanchow had tried to compel the Mohammedans of Hsining to revolt but had hit a severe blow on the border of the Tatung River, the Chinese who had fol-